

## Message Text

SECRET

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ACTION SS-25

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 /026 W  
-----039228 241352Z /42

O 231305Z JUN 78  
FM AMEMBASSY PRETORIA  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 1468  
INFO AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM  
AMEMBASSY GABORONE  
AMEMBASSY LAGOS  
AMEMBASSY LILONGWE  
AMEMBASSY LONDON IMMEDIATE  
AMEMBASSY LUSAKA  
AMEMBASSY MAPUTO  
USMISSION USUN NEW YORK IMMEDIATE

S E C R E T SECTION 1 OF 2 PRETORIA 3539

EXDIS

NSC FOR AARAN

FROM LOW

E.O. 11652: XGDS-2  
TAGS: PINT, PDEV, RH  
SUBJECT: RHODESIA: ASSESSMENT OF PROGRESS OF CEASE FIRE PROGRAM

1. SUMMARY: BRITISH COLONEL REILLY AFTER 10 DAYS IN  
RHODEISA CONCLUDES THAT THE CEASE FIRE PROGRAM IS GOING  
SLOWLY. A LARGE PERCENTAGE OF THE GUERRILLAS IN THE  
COUNTRY ARE SITTING ON THE FENCE AND MANY ARE ENGAGED IN  
BANDITRY AND EXTORTION. UNLESS THERE IS A DRAMATIC CHANGE  
IN THE SITUATION REILLY DOUBTS THAT MORE THAN 20 PERCENT  
OF THE GUERRILLAS WILL HAVE JOINED THE GOVERNMENT BY  
DECEMBER. THE 5000 GUERRILLAS STILL COMMITTED TO THE  
PATRIOTIC FRONT AND LACK OF CONTROL WOULD MAKE IT

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DIFFICULT FOR A CONVINCING ELECTION (ABOVE 50-60 PER  
CENT) TO TAKE PLACE. END SUMMARY

2. FOLLOWING ARE HIGHLIGHTS FROM A REPORT SUBMITTED  
BY BRITISH COLONEL JEREMY REILLY WHO IS IN RHODESIA  
TO ADVISE US. THE REPORT IS BASED ON ABOUT TEN DAYS  
IN RHODESIA INCLUDING THREE DAYS VISITING COMMANDERS IN

VARIOUS PARTS OF THE COUNTRY AND INTERVIEWING GUERRILLAS WHO HAD COME OVER TO THE GOVERNMENT SIDE. REILLY REVIEWED HIS REPORT WITH GENERAL WALLS AND HICKMAN AND THE NATIONAL OPERATIONS COMMAND WHO AGREED IT WAS A FAIR ASSESSMENT.

3. THERE ARE TWO PRIMARY THRUSTS TO THE CEASE FIRE PROGRAM, THE FROZEN AREAS PROGRAM AND WHAT REILLY CALLS THE SECRET ARMY. IN THE FORMER PROGRAM THERE ARE ABOUT 18 FROZEN AREAS NOW IN EXISTENCE, HOWEVER IN ONLY SEVEN OF THESE IS PROGRESS CONTINUING TO CONVERT THE GUERRILLAS IN THE AREA TO WHAT IS KNOWN AS "SOLDIERS OF THE INTERIM GOVERNMENT" (SIGS). REILLY ESTIMATES THERE ARE ABOUT 200 OF THESE SIGS AND ABOUT 1000 GUERRILLAS IN OTHER PARTS WHO HAVE DEMONSTRATED SOME INTEREST BUT HAVE NOT YET COME ACROSS. IN GENERAL THE GUERRILLAS DO NOT WANT TO SWITCH SIDES UNTIL THEY ARE CERTAIN WHO IS GOING TO WIN. THE MAJORITY (ABOUT 75 PERCENT), SAYS REILLY, ARE INACTIVE MILITARILY AND MANY ARE ENGAGED IN BANDITRY AND OTHER LAWLESSNESS WHICH THE PATRIOTIC FRONT HAS BEEN ABLE TO CLAIM AS PART OF ITS MILITARY EFFORT BUT OVER WHICH IT HAS LITTLE CONTROL IN ACTUAL FACT.

4. MUGABE'S HEADQUARTERS HAVE BEEN ACTIVE IN CONDEMN-  
ING ZANLA COMMANDERS WHOM IT BELIEVES ARE WEAKENING AND  
HAS KILLED QUITE A NUMBER OF THEM. REILLY CONSIDERS  
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THIS A MEASURE OF THE EFFECTIVENESS OF THE CEASE FIRE  
PROGRAM.

5. AS DISTINGUISHED FROM FROZEN AREAS WHERE SECURITY  
FORCES ARE KEPT OUT AND CONTACT WITH THE GUERRILLAS IS  
THROUGH A FEW SELECTED SPECIAL BRANCH OFFICERS AND  
PARTY LEADERS OF THE INTERNAL SETTLEMENT GROUP, THE  
SECRET ARMY IS MADE UP OF FORMER ZANLA AND SOME ZIPRA  
GUERRILLAS WHO HAVE COMPLETELY COME OVER AND ARE NOW  
FIGHTING ON THE SIDE OF THE GOVERNMENT, IN COOPERATION  
AND WITH THE INTERNAL REGIME. THESE WILL SHORTLY BE  
JOINED BY FREEDOM FIGHTERS BEING TRAINED (BY SITHOLE)  
IN UGANDA AND A FEW (14) REPORTED ZANLA COMMANDERS WHO  
DESERTED FROM CAMPS IN MOZAMBIQUE. REILLY ESTIMATES  
THERE ARE ABOUT 800 OF THESE MEN IN THREE SEPARATE AREAS  
OF THE COUNTRY. THEY ARE PROBABLY MORE EFFECTIVE AND  
THIS PROGRAM MORE SUCCESSFUL THAN THE FROZEN AREAS PROGRAM.

6. THE WHOLE CEASE FIRE PROGRAM TOGETHER IS CARRIED  
OUT ON THE BASIS OF ATTRITION. REILLY ESTIMATES THAT  
IT MAY BE AS MUCH AS 20 PERCENT EFFECTIVE BY DECEMBER.  
THIS WOULD STILL LEAVE ABOUT 5000 GUERRILLAS ACTIVE INSIDE

THE COUNTRY WHO ARE LOYAL TO THE PATRIOTIC FRONT AND  
WHO COULD WORK TO INTERFERE WITH THE ELECTION PROCESS.  
REILLY SAYS THERE IS A DETERMINATION WITHIN  
THE SECURITY FORCES TO CARRY THROUGH WITH THE ELECTION  
BUT NOT MUCH OPTIMISM. HE QUOTES A SECURITY FORCES  
OFFICER WHO ESTIMATED THAT "30-40 PERCENT PARTICIPATION  
IN THE ELECTION WOULD BE GOOD GOING".

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ACTION SS-25

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 /026 W  
-----039320 241404Z /43

O 231305Z JUN 78  
FM AMEMBASSY PRETORIA  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 1469  
INFO AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM  
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AMEMBASSY MAPUTO  
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EXDIS

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FROM LOW

7. REILLY SAYS THAT THE SECURITY FORCES DETERMINATION  
TO GO AHEAD WITH AN ELECTION IN ANY CASE IS BASED ON A  
CONVICTION THAT POSTPONEMENT WOULD LEAD TO OUTRIGHT  
CIVIL WAR AND FAILURE OF THE INTERNAL SETTLEMENT. THEY  
BELIEVE FURTHER THAT IT IS ABSOLUTELY NECESSARY TO DO A  
DEAL WITH NKOMO IN ONE WAY OR ANOTHER BUT ARE COMPLETELY  
OPPOSED TO ANY ARRANGEMENT WHICH WWOULD INCLUDE MUGABE.

8. COMMENT: WHILE REILLY'S REPORT APPEARS TO ME TO BE  
A PESSIMISTIC ONE IN TERMS OF THE LIKELIHOOD OF THE  
INTERNAL SETTLEMENT BEING ABLE TO CARRY OUT AN ELECTION

WHICH THE WORLD WOULD ACCEPT AS A GENUINE EXPRESSION OF  
THE WILL OF THE PEOPLE OF RHODESIA, I DO NOT BELIEVE HE  
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CONSIDERS IT TO BE SO. HIS FEELING AND THAT OF SOME  
OTHER OBSERVERS IS THAT IF THE INTERNAL SETTLEMENT WOULD  
BEGIN TO PICK UP STEAM IN TERMS OF PROVIDING PSYCHO-  
LOGICAL BACKING TO THOSE URGING THE GUERRILLAS TO COME  
OVER TO THE GOVERNMENT, THE WHOLE SITUATION COULD  
CHANGE RAPIDLY AS THOSE SITTING ON THE FENCE BEGAN TO  
CHOOSE THE GOVERNMENT SIDE. THE KINDS OF ACTION WHICH  
MIGHT PROVIDE SUCH PSYCHOLOGICAL SUPPORT ARE ELIMINATION  
OF DISCRIMINATORY LEGISLATION, DEMONSTRATION BY AFRICAN  
MINISTERS AND MEMBERS OF EXECUTIVE COUNCIL OF GREATER  
AUTHORITY, SMITH'S RESIGNATION AND MORE ACTIVE SUPPORT  
FOR THE INTERNAL SETTLEMENT FROM OUTSIDE POWERS.

9. IN MY OWN VIEW THERE IS LITTLE EVIDENCE THAT THE  
KINDS OF ACTIONS WHICH REILLY SUGGESTS WILL BE FORTH-  
COMING. NOR AM I CONVINCED THAT EVEN IF SOME OR ALL  
OF THEM WERE TAKEN (BUT THE PATRIOTIC FRONT REMAINED  
OUTSIDE THE AGREEMENT), THERE IS ENOUGH TIME LEFT FOR  
SUCH MEASURES TO CONVINCE LARGE NUMBERS OF GUERRILLAS  
TO COME OVER TO THE GOVERNMENT'S SIDE BEFORE THE ELECTION.  
IT APPEARS TO ME THAT BARRING ACCOMMODATION WITH THE  
PATRIOTIC FRONT OR AT LEAST ONE OF ITS TWO LEADERS,  
ELECTIONS THIS DECEMBER ARE UNLIKELY TO PROVIDE A  
CONVINCING DEMONSTRATION OF SUPPORT FROM THE POPULATION  
OF RHODESIA, THE WAR WILL CONTINUE AND INTERNATIONAL  
ACCEPTANCE OF THE NEW GOVERNMENT WOULD BE SLOW AT BEST.  
EDMONDSON

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## Message Attributes

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